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REQUESTING THE PRESIDENT TO URGE UPON THE GOVERNMENTS OF CERTAIN NATIONS THE IMMEDIATE NECESSITY OF LIMITING THE PRODUCTION OF HABIT-FORMING NARCOTIC DRUGS AND THE RAW MATERIALS FROM WHICH THEY ARE MADE TO THE AMOUNT ACTUALLY REQUIRED FOR STRICTLY MEDICINAL AND SCIENTIFIC PURPOSES.

REMARKS

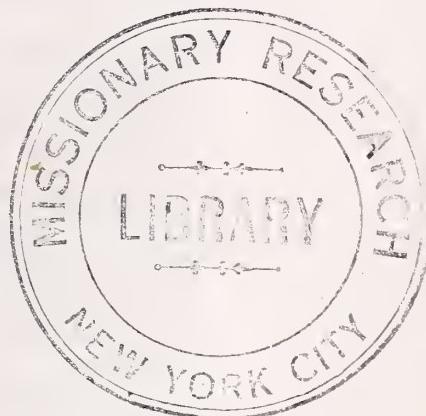
OF

HON. STEPHEN G. PORTER
OF PENNSYLVANIA
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 26, 1923



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REMARKS
OF
HON. STEPHEN G. PORTER.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass House Joint Resolution No. 453, entitled "Joint resolution requesting the President to urge upon the governments of certain nations the immediate necessity of limiting the production of habit-forming narcotic drugs and the raw materials from which they are made to the amount actually required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes. I also move the adoption of the preamble.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Pennsylvania moves to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 453) requesting the President to urge upon the governments of certain nations the immediate necessity of limiting the production of habit-forming narcotic drugs and the raw materials from which they are made to the amount actually required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes.

Whereas the unlawful use in the United States of America of opium (the coagulated juice of Papaver somniferum) and its derivatives (morphia, codeine, heroin), and cocaine (obtained from coca leaves—Erythroxylum coca) and other preparations made from these plants or their by-products, with attendant irreparable injury to health and morality and resultant death from continued use, is increasing and spreading; and

Whereas the special committee of investigation of traffic in narcotic drugs appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury, in its report dated April 15, 1919, having considered the secrecy connected with the unlawful sale and use of these drugs, and the other difficulties in obtaining information which would give the exact number of addicts in the United States, says: "The committee is of the opinion that the total number of addicts in this country probably exceeds 1,000,000 at the present time," and further says that "the range of ages of addicts was reported as 12 to 75 years. The large majority of addicts of all ages was reported as using morphine or opium or its preparations. * * * Most of the heroin addicts are comparatively young, a portion of them being boys and girls under the age of 20. This is also true of cocaine addicts," and as this report is in harmony with the opinion of many who have carefully investigated the subject; and

Whereas the annual production of opium is approximately 1,500 tons, of which approximately 100 tons, according to the best available information, is sufficient for the world's medicinal and scientific needs,

and the growth of coca leaves is likewise greatly in excess of what is required for the same needs, and thus vast quantities of each are available for the manufacture of habit-forming narcotic drugs for illicit sale and consumption; and

Whereas opium is obtained in paying quantities from poppies cultivated in small areas of India, Persia, and Turkey, where the soil and climate are peculiarly adapted to the production of poppies containing opium rich in morphia, codeine, and other narcotic derivatives; and

Whereas in Persia and Turkey the growth of the poppy and the production of opium therefrom, resulting in large revenues to those respective Governments, is controllable by virtue of their sovereign power to limit the exportation thereof and to restrict production to the quantity actually required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes; and

Whereas the British Government in India, which derives large revenues from the growth of the poppy and the production of opium therefrom, has full power to limit production to the amount actually required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes; and

Whereas the production of coca leaves (*Erythroxylum coca*) is limited to certain areas of Peru and Bolivia and the Netherlands possession of Java, and their production is controllable by virtue of the sovereign power of those Governments to limit the exportation thereof and to restrict production to the quantities actually required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes; and

Whereas the antinarcotic laws of a majority of the larger nations of the world provide severe penalties for dispensing habit-forming narcotic drugs without a record of the amount thereof dispensed, thus providing reliable data from which a reasonably accurate calculation can be made of the amount of these drugs needed for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes; and

Whereas on January 23, 1912, as the result of the meeting of the International Opium Commission at Shanghai, China, in 1909, and the conference at The Hague in 1912, a treaty was made between the United States of America and other powers which was intended to suppress the illicit traffic in habit-forming narcotic drugs, and notwithstanding that upward of seven years have passed since its ratification, the treaty and the laws in pursuance thereof subsequently adopted by the contracting powers have utterly failed to suppress such illicit traffic, by reason of the fact that the treaty attempted to regulate the transportation and sale of these drugs without adequate restriction upon production, the source or root of the evil; and

Whereas failure of such treaty and the laws adopted in pursuance thereto to provide adequate restrictions upon production has resulted in extensive and flagrant violations of the laws by reason of the fact that the great commercial value of these drugs, the large financial gains derived from handling them, and the smallness of their bulk, which renders detection in transportation and sale exceedingly difficult, have induced and encouraged the unscrupulous to divert enormous quantities into the channels of illicit international traffic, thereby rendering partially, if not wholly, ineffective the treaty and the laws adopted in pursuance thereof; and

Whereas in June, 1921, the opium advisory committee of the council of the League of Nations adopted a resolution urging the restriction of the cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium therefrom to "strictly medicinal and scientific" purposes, which resolution was approved by the council of the league, but when said resolution was pre-

sented for final approval to the assembly of the league, which is composed of a representative from each nation which is a member thereof, it was amended by striking out the words "strictly medicinal and scientific" and substituting the word "legitimate" in lieu thereof; and

Whereas the substitution of the general word "legitimate" for the specific words "medicinal and scientific" permits the continuance of the sale of enormous quantities of opium and its derivatives in many sections of the Orient by the opium producers of India, Turkey, and Persia, where it is "legitimate" to sell and transport these drugs in unrestricted quantities, regardless of their ultimate use by the purchaser; and

Whereas the continuance of the sale and transportation of such drugs, without restriction on their use, results in the diversion of large quantities thereof into the channels of illegal international traffic and in the unlawful importation into the United States, and the sale here for unlawful purposes, of preparations made therefrom such as morphia, heroin, and cocaine; and

Whereas the United States of America, in dealing with the traffic in habit-forming narcotic drugs within its own territory and possessions, notably in the Philippine Islands, and in cooperating sympathetically with the efforts of the Government of China in dealing with its opium problem, has always been committed, without regard to revenue, to a program for the complete suppression and prohibition of the production of and traffic in them, except for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That it is the imperative duty of the United States Government to safeguard its people from the persistent ravages of habit-forming narcotic drugs.

SEC. 2. That the effective control of these drugs can be obtained only by limiting the production thereof to the quantity required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes, thus eradicating the source or root of the present conditions, which are solely due to production many times greater than is necessary for such purposes.

SEC. 3. That in the hope of accomplishing this end the President be, and he hereby is, requested to urge upon the Governments of Great Britain, Persia, and Turkey the immediate necessity of limiting the growth of the poppy (*Papaver somniferum*) and the production of opium and its derivatives exclusively to the amount actually required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes.

SEC. 4. That the President be, and he hereby is, requested to urge upon the Governments of Peru, Bolivia, and the Netherlands the immediate necessity of limiting the production of coca leaves (*Erythroxylum coca*) and their derivatives to the quantity exclusively required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes.

SEC. 5. That the President be, and he hereby is, requested to report to Congress on the first Monday in December, 1923, the result of his action.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is a second demanded?

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I do not care to demand a second, but I would like to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania one or two questions.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, I demand a second. I propose to move to strike out the preamble.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that a second be considered as ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. I want to ask the gentleman from Pennsylvania one or two questions. I understand this matter has been under consideration in the Committee on Foreign Affairs for several weeks.

Mr. PORTER. It has.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. Hearings have been had upon it?

Mr. PORTER. Very extensive hearings.

Mr. GARRETT of Tennessee. And this was reported unanimously from the Committee on Foreign Affairs?

Mr. PORTER. Yes.

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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 12, 1923.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am inclosing herewith a copy of H. J. Res. 430, which I introduced in the House of Representatives on January 31, 1923, relating to the illicit international traffic in habit-forming narcotic drugs.

By reason of their smallness of bulk and the secrecy connected with the improper use of these destructive drugs, and the large financial gains derived from their illicit handling, it is impossible to prevent them from reaching the consumer; therefore, the resolution is founded on the principle that a permanent and effective remedy can be obtained only by the limitation of the production of the raw materials to the amount actually needed for medicinal and scientific purposes.

Inasmuch as international conferences usually result in compromises, by reason of the fact that a unanimous vote is necessary to make the agreements resulting from such conferences binding on the nations participating therein, the resolution provides for a direct appeal to the offending nations on humanitarian grounds, as the misuse of these drugs has created an international affliction of such great magnitude that an effective remedy can not be secured by compromise. The failure of the Shanghai opium commission and The Hague conference to check this evil fully justifies this conclusion.

The statesmen of Europe probably never fully realized the limitations upon the power of the President in the matter of the making of treaties until President Wilson failed to secure the ratification of the treaty of Versailles; therefore, the passage of this resolution by Congress before negotiations are initiated, will strongly impress upon the Government involved that the representations of the President reflect the views of both the executive and legislative branches of our Government.

Notwithstanding the fact that Congress will adjourn on March 4, I am hopeful, by limiting the hearings to a few days, of obtaining passage of the resolution before that date, and your views on the

resolution at your earliest convenience for presentation to the committee would be very much appreciated.

Yours very truly,

STEPHEN G. PORTER, *Chairman.*

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 13, 1923.

Hon. STEPHEN G. PORTER,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. PORTER: I have read your letter of to-day's date and its accompanying resolution with much interest. The object which you have in view—that is, the restriction of the commercial cultivation of the opium poppy and the coca-leaf plant to quantities exclusively required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes—is one with which I am in entire accord.

I can assure you of my deep interest in the work of narcotics control and of my willingness to forward in any way that I can the expressed views of the Congress on this important subject. I believe that the prompt passage of the proposed resolution, with the minor amendment suggested, will be an important aid in securing the desired result. If the commercial production of the raw plants from which opium products and cocaine are obtained can be minimized, the question of narcotics control will be greatly simplified. I shall be glad to place before your committee such information in regard to the narcotics-control question as is at my disposal.

I am, my dear Mr. PORTER, sincerely yours,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, in addition to the indorsement by the Secretary of State, the passage of this resolution is strongly urged by the Mystic Order Veiled Prophets of the Enchanted Realm (the Grotto), who, speaking through their Grand Monarch, state:

* * * I believe that it is therefore essential that we strike at the root of the evil and regulate the traffic in narcotic drugs at the source of production.

* * * The resolutions express the sentiments of nearly a half million Masons, with their families; * * * and in a telegram to your committee "the Grotto is expecting you to win and backs you to a man, and will do our part when called."

The Loyal Order of Moose, through Hon. James F. Davis, director general, says:

I want to present some 1,600 resolutions passed by the Loyal Order of Moose in support of House Resolution 430. * * * The organization is now appropriating funds for the purpose of putting on a speaking campaign throughout the country, enlisting the services of men high in public life to present this subject to our 600,000 members. The Women's Mooseheart Legion, with a membership of 75,000, also indorses this resolution.

James S. McCandless, Imperial Potentate Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, writes, in part, as follows:

Personally you have my full sympathy in this matter, and I hope that this legislation will carry. This is getting to be a very serious menace to our young men and women.

The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, through Exalted Ruler William J. Sinek, of Chicago, Ill., says, in part:

"In the charity work of the Elks organization we have had a very good opportunity to observe the ravages of habit-forming drugs in all its horrors because we come directly in contact with the victims of it * * *. So long as narcotic drugs are produced in abundance and as long as they are a commodity of international commerce they will be brought into the United States and remain a menace to society, decency, and civilization. * * *. I am absolutely in accord with the resolution and most heartily indorse it as being the right thing."

The old age pension committee of Pennsylvania, Fraternal Order of Eagles, says:

"It behooves our country in view of our failure to prevent in the past the spreading of this terribly demoralizing habit which is undermining the health, debasing the morals, and destroying the lives of its many victims, to act without unnecessary delay."

The American National Red Cross says:

DEAR MR. PORTER: While the general policy of the American Red Cross is not to indorse any legislation not introduced by itself, and though it takes part in no political or controversial questions, it is in full sympathy with the purpose of House Joint Resolution 430, relating to the illicit international traffic in habit-forming narcotic drugs.

Any legislation that will tend to lessen the unfortunate condition that exists to-day regarding the misuse of narcotic drugs can not fail to receive the approval of the American Red Cross, which is deeply interested in all human welfare.

May I add to this Red Cross approval my personal sympathy in the legislation proposed by the resolution.

Yours sincerely, MABEL T. BOARDMAN, Secretary.

The American Insurance Union, representing 110,000 members, through its president, says:

Our national board unanimously indorses this resolution. * * * It is as much a disease to be stamped out as cholera or yellow fever or the bubonic plague.

The White Cross, an organization created for the purpose of suppressing the traffic on the Pacific coast, telegraphed your chairman, in part, as follows:

Your resolution dispensing for present with convention and short-circuiting the appeal to offending nations a worthy example of American diplomatic directness. * * * Resolutions supported by White Cross with all our force.

Rev. Edward C. Lobenstine, executive officer of the European and American missionary bodies in China, says:

The opium traffic has been one of the serious hindrances to the work of the Christian church in China, inasmuch as one of the main argu-

ments which we have for the spread of Christianity is our high ethical standards, and the feeling that it will improve the moral condition of the people, and yet in the eyes of the people in China the white race is morally responsible, directly responsible, for the introduction and the spread of the opium habit in China. * * * Of course, I take it there is no use of speaking of the demoralizing influence of those using opium.

The duly authorized representatives of the Salvation Army, the State Council of Pennsylvania Order of Independent Americans, post organizations Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, and the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York also strongly indorse the resolution.

The grand monarch of the M. O. V. P. E. R.—the Grotto—in a communication to the President, said:

"I feel that it is time, Mr. President, for the various fraternal organizations of our country to turn aside from their beaten paths of ritualistic ceremonies and give a little time and constructive thought to the ever growing needs of this and other nations of the world."

Many of the organizations mentioned evidently have adopted a similar policy, for it is indeed rare when they indorse pending legislation.

If time permitted, many other indorsements from fraternal, church, and individual sources from all sections of the country could be enumerated, which plainly shows that the people of the United States are thoroughly aroused over the necessity of stamping out the addition to habit-forming narcotic drugs.

The resolution before the House (H. J. Res. 453) requests the President to urge upon the Governments of Great Britain, Persia, and Turkey the immediate necessity of limiting the growth of the poppy—*Papaver somniferum*—and the production of opium and its derivatives exclusively to the amount actually required for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes, and also to urge upon the Republics of Peru and Bolivia and the Netherlands the immediate necessity of limiting the growth and production of coca leaves—*Erythroxylum coca*—and its derivatives to the quantity exclusively required for the same purposes.

Morphia, codeine, and heroin are obtained from opium, which is the coagulated juice of the opium-producing poppy. It is procured in paying quantities from the poppy cultivated in India, Persia, Turkey, and China. The growth of the plant depends upon peculiarly favorable soil, which is especially found in small areas of India, Persia, Turkey, and China, and a very wet and hot climate until the capsule is formed; afterwards a very hot and dry climate during the flowering season. With the exception of the opium produced in China, all the opium produced in the world results from the cultivation of

Between five and six hundred thousand acres of land in India, Persia, and Turkey. This confines the growing area to small acreage which makes control of production, unlike that of wheat or corn, practicable and comparatively easy of accomplishment; in fact, the quantity produced in India has been for many years entirely controlled by the officials of the British India Government who administer the affairs of that possession.

About two-fifths of the opium produced in India, Persia, and Turkey is retained for home consumption and the balance is exported to other countries where the morphia, codeine, and heroin are extracted by pharmaceutical chemists.

No effort had ever been made to extract these derivatives by pharmaceutical chemists in the Orient until about two years ago, when a laboratory for this purpose was established in Calcutta and one in the Japanese possession of Formosa.

Cocaine is obtained from coca leaves, which are indigenous to Peru, Bolivia, and the Netherlands possession of Java, and the leaves likewise are exported to other countries, where the cocaine is extracted. Recently, however, a laboratory was constructed in Peru for the extraction of crude cocaine, which is shipped to Europe for further refining.

Morphia and cocaine are indispensable in the treatment of certain diseases; the former for a century or more has been used almost exclusively for the alleviation of pain, both acute and chronic. They are universally used by the medical profession. It has often been said that without morphia the practice of medicine would be an unhappy calling, indeed. If the object of this resolution were achieved, their use would be restricted exclusively to these humane purposes, and continue to be the two greatest boons known to medical science.

The production of opium in India, Persia, and Turkey is approximately not less than 1,500 tons, of which but a comparatively small amount is required by the peoples of the world for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes. This quantity of 1,500 tons is exclusive of from 700 to 900 tons which is retained by these producing countries to meet the domestic demands of native addicts and for medicinal and scientific purposes. These native addicts consume the product by smoking and eating it. In 1919, according to the report of the British India Government, 741 tons of provision opium was exported from India, and during the same year through the licensing of opium shops in India, the natives of that country consumed 531 tons of excise opium.

Statistical records and the evidence of the witnesses appearing before your committee place the world's consumption of

opium for medicinal and scientific purposes to from 5 to 125 tons per year. The varying opinions of these witnesses prevent an accurate estimate of the amount actually required for these specific purposes, but assuming that the maximum amount of 125 tons is required to fulfill these strictly proper needs, the huge production of raw materials is greatly in excess of these requirements, thus releasing for immoral and illicit use approximately 1,350 tons per annum of provision or export opium. If the principle stated in the resolution were concurred in by the producing countries, these proper requirements could be determined through various sources, such as individuals, firms, and corporations duly authorized to dispense them, who are required by a majority of the larger nations to keep an accurate record of the quantity so dispensed under severe penalty for infraction. The hospitals, sanitariums, penal and other institutions would also be very helpful in assisting in determining the amount actually needed for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes.

Even the opium producers of Turkey, Persia, and India can not, in truth, deny that the medicinal and scientific needs of the world is more than 250 tons per annum, therefore there would not be the slightest risk, so far as those requirements are concerned, in immediately reducing the production to that amount.

This excessive overproduction in India is due to the fact that the administrative officials of that country offer inducements to the natives to engage in the production of the opium-producing poppy by lending them money without interest, the condition of the loan being that the entire crops shall be turned over to the Government at a price fixed by the Government, which derives large revenues from its indiscriminate sale to whomever will buy it at the highest price.

That portion of the product retained for domestic use is known as excise opium, and that intended for export as provision opium, which is largely disposed of in Calcutta at public auction each month, without restriction on its ultimate destination and use.

It may be of interest to note that all the self-governing dominions of the British Empire—the Dominion of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and British South African colonies—have stringent antinarcotic laws similar to those in force in Great Britain, Japan, and the United States which require a physician's prescription before even a grain of opium or its derivatives can be purchased; nevertheless, a citizen of any of these self-governing dominions, in fact, a citizen of any country in the world, may journey to the Orient and buy unlimited quantities

at auction in the British possessions of India or in the markets of Persia and Turkey.

In strong governments, or wherever self-government exists, habit-forming narcotic drugs are outlawed, except for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes. The failure of certain European nations and Japan to give by law to the people living within their possessions the same protection against these drugs that they give to their own citizens, through antinarcotic drug laws, is largely responsible for the present deplorable conditions, notwithstanding the fact that reliable authorities agree that the oriental suffers the same harmful effects as the occidental from the use of habit-forming narcotic drugs. Professor Cushney, the eminent pharmacologist of the University of Edinburgh, has given his opinion that he is aware of no evidence to prove that orientals have a different reaction to drugs from occidentals, and that until such evidence is brought forward he is not prepared to accept it.

The production of coca leaves—from which cocaine is extracted—in Peru, Bolivia, and the Netherlands possession of Java, is likewise vastly in excess of the quantity required from which an adequate supply of cocaine for medicinal and scientific purposes could be obtained.

The overgrowth and resultant overproduction of the opium-producing poppy and coca leaves make possible vast quantities reaching the hands of unscrupulous traffickers, who, by reason of the smallness of bulk of these products and the large financial gains obtained from their illicit handling, easily transport, with minimum risk of detection, and are enabled to smuggle large quantities of morphia, codeine, heroin, and cocaine into the United States, which prohibits their importation, and other countries where they are disposed of to those who engage in the nefarious trade of selling them to the unfortunates who have become addicted to their use.

It should be of interest to know that \$5,000 worth of morphia, codeine, heroin, or cocaine may be safely concealed in an ordinary suitcase; that in a hollow cane of average thickness \$2,000 worth may be secreted. It was stated in your committee that on a steamer crossing the Pacific some one happened to examine a particular bamboo chair and found that its hollow bamboo was filled with morphia.

The sundry and varied manners and forms in which traffickers ply their illicit trade would prove interesting reading and be striking evidence of the ease with which the drugs are transported from country to country. The vender of them finds it comparatively easy to bring his goods into the United States

through our extensive seacoasts and immense boundaries. Even our penitentiaries and jails are invaded by the traffickers, who find within their walls market for these vicious drugs, payment for which is made by the prisoners issuing I O U's to friends on the outside.

The testimony conclusively shows that habit-forming narcotic drugs, by reason of their extraordinary nature, will overcome all barriers, even the bars of prisons, or, as stated by Sir John Jordan, the noted British authority on the subject and member of the opium Advisory Commission appointed by the council of the League of Nations, "Whenever and wherever opium is produced, it will reach the consumer." This shows the futility of attempting to control the traffic by even the most drastic of domestic laws, which is further confirmed by the statement of Mr. Blanchard, of the Narcotic Division of the Treasury Department, who testified that of all the drugs seized last year in the United States between 75 per cent and 85 per cent bore the labels of foreign manufacturers. Therefore the purposes of the Harrison Antinarcotics Act, the Jones-Miller Act, and the prohibition against the importation of these alkaloids have been substantially defeated, as they have not prevented smugglers and peddlers from keeping the supply of these drugs in the United States undiminished.

As to the number of addicts in the United States, I quote the following extract from the report, dated April 15, 1919, of the special committee of investigation of traffic in narcotic drugs appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury:

The committee is of the opinion that the total number of addicts in this country probably exceeds 1,000,000 at the present time. * * * The range of ages of addicts was reported as from 12 to 75 years. The large majority of addicts of all ages was reported as using morphine or opium or its preparations. * * * Most of the heroin addicts are comparatively young, a portion of them being boys and girls under the age of 20. This is also true of cocaine addicts.

This report took into full consideration and made allowance for the lack of laws making compulsory registration of drug addicts, the secrecy connected with the unlawful sale and use of these drugs, and the other difficulties in obtaining information which would give the exact number of addicts in the United States.

Valuable evidence in this respect has been submitted to your committee by hospital and penal institution officials, physicians, sociological workers, fraternal organizations, such as the Veiled Prophets of the Enchanted Realm (the Grotto), Loyal Order of Moose, Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, the Salvation Army, and public health organizations, as well as private indi-

viduals who have carefully studied the habit-forming drugs problem and who are well qualified to express opinions on the subject, which not only confirms the statement in the report above quoted but makes it evident that conditions in the United States resulting from the increasing and spreading use of these drugs by addicts are constantly growing worse.

The number of addicts committed to our penal establishments and admitted to sanitariums is rapidly increasing. The warden of the Federal prison at Leavenworth reports that from July, 1914, to December 31, 1922, 7 per cent of the prisoners committed were drug addicts. During 1921 15½ per cent were addicts. From July 1 to December 31, 1922, 24 per cent were addicts. The warden of the Federal prison at Atlanta reports for the fiscal years 1918, 11 per cent addicts; 1919, 6 per cent addicts; 1920, 8 per cent addicts; 1921, 15 per cent addicts; 1922, 20 per cent addicts.

Dr. Amos O. Squire, chief physician of Sing Sing Prison, New York, testified that since 1919, comparing it with the year ending June, 1922, shows an increase of 900 per cent, and that 90 per cent of the drugs were obtained from peddlers.

The foregoing only confirms the statements of the witnesses that much of the crime committed is traced to addicts in their frenzy to obtain money with which to buy the drugs.

The depredations wrought upon humanity by the demoralizing effects of these drugs have been fully and convincingly stated by witnesses who have described the misery and suffering of those who have acquired their immoral use and who are abandoning themselves to increasing indulgence in them. Young boys and girls are being seduced from good citizenship by the lure of dangerous narcotics which rapidly sap and ultimately destroy their moral and physical sensibilities and instinctive refinements. Even a child born to an addict mother becomes addicted through the mother's milk.

The testimony further discloses that the principal causes of addiction are: Unskilled medical treatment, recklessness of youth, the use of the drugs as a relief from acute and chronic pain by persons ignorant of their habit-forming nature, and solicitation by peddlers.

The accepted treatment is known as "tapering-off"—that is, the gradual reduction of the amount used until the patient is able to abstain from its use—but this is a long and tedious treatment requiring strict surveillance of the patients long after they have left the hospital or sanitarium, and, as stated by the representative of the Salvation Army, the peddler, who

has temporarily lost a customer, usually persuades his physically weakened victim to renew the drug habit.

Complete recoveries are few and the phrase "once an addict always an addict" in its essence is literally true.

Addicts are the victims of misfortune over which but few of them have had any control, as addiction rarely occurs through viciousness except in the cases of habitués of the so-called "underworld," and perhaps many of these have been reduced to this social condition as the result of addiction. They are the most grateful of patients, and frequently commit minor offenses so that they may be committed to an institution in the hope of being cured of their affliction.

Mr. Crim, Assistant Attorney General, stated:

"We have cases where these men call up and say: 'I am a drug addict. I am going to sell some opium down on the corner of such and such a street at such and such an hour, and if you will go there you can apprehend me. I want to go to jail. I am afraid of myself.'"

They are not admitted to hospitals because their craving for the drug renders them beyond control. They are frequently the victims of nostrums and quack sanitariums, and should be the objects of compassion rather than be termed as "dope fiends."

I trust the day is not far distant when the necessity for constructing and maintaining an institution for the treatment and care of these unfortunate people is recognized, which would result in many being cured of the affliction.

There is an economic aspect to this problem about which I hesitatingly make reference, but, inasmuch as we are living in a highly commercial period, perhaps it is better to do so.

According to the report of the special committee heretofore referred to, satisfaction of addiction to the drug habit entails a useless annual expenditure of approximately \$61,000,000 for habit-forming drugs, and the report further states that at least 25 per cent of the addicts are not occupied in gainful occupations which would represent on a conservative estimate a loss of \$150,000,000 annually. Continuing, the report says:

These figures do not include the cost of drug addiction to individuals as a result of loss from theft, burglary, and other crimes, nor the cost to the States and municipalities in the suppression and punishment of crime and the care and treatment of those who eventually become a charge upon the community.

In addition to these items, the Federal Government appropriated \$750,000 last year for the enforcement of antinarcotic laws, which is found to be wholly inadequate.

Treaties between countries have not availed in restricting traffic in these drugs, especially the treaty resulting from the

meeting of the international opium commission at Shanghai, China, in 1909, and the conferences at The Hague in 1911 and 1912. The failure of this treaty was made possible by the fact that instead of placing limitation upon production, attempt was made to regulate the traffic in habit-forming narcotic drugs by restricting their transportation and sale. Evasion of this restriction is easily accomplished by reason of the fact, as already stated, that illicit traffic through surreptitious channels and sources is readily and safely engaged in, the drugs finding a waiting and eager market everywhere.

The treaty is also extremely indefinite and encourages evasions which can readily be seen by the wording of article 7, which is as follows:

Contracting powers shall prohibit the importation and exportation of prepared opium. However, those nations which are not yet ready to prohibit the exportation of prepared opium at once shall prohibit such exportation as soon as possible.

The treaty will, however, be beneficial in one respect. Many of the contracting powers have passed antinarcotic laws in pursuance of the treaty which will be very helpful hereafter in estimating the quantity of these drugs actually needed for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes.

Under article 23 of the treaty of Versailles the execution of the treaty of The Hague was delegated to the League of Nations, the council of which appointed an opium advisory committee of nine, representing certain nations, and three advisers or assessors who were appointed by the council irrespective of nationality. These were Sir John Jordan, M. Henri Brenier, and Mrs. Hamilton Wright.

At the meeting held in June, 1921, upon motion of Mr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese representative on the opium advisory committee, a resolution was adopted recommending the reduction and restriction of the cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium therefrom to strictly medicinal and scientific purposes.

The Koo resolution was ratified by the council of the League of Nations, which recommended its adoption by the assembly of the League. The assembly is composed of a representative from each nation which is a member of the League of Nations.

At the meeting of the assembly of the League held on October 19, 1921, the assembly recommended that the words "strictly medicinal and scientific" be stricken out and the word "legitimate" be substituted in lieu thereof on the statement of the Indian delegate, Mr. Sastri, "that the Indian population is throughout vast areas without adequate medical assistance, and

therefore habitually takes opium in small doses as a prophylactic or as an effective remedy against diseases with which some of these regions are constantly infected."

The uses of opium enumerated by Mr. Sastri in his argument in favor of the amendment are clearly medicinal, and therefore there was no necessity for the amendment; further, anyone of average intelligence knows that opium is not a prophylactic or preventive of any disease, especially the fevers which occur in tropical countries. Mr. Sastri's statement that the "small doses" habitually taken by the people of India, according to the official record of the Indian government, consumed 532 tons of opium in 1919, and should arouse curiosity as to how much, in his opinion, a large dose would be. *It is perfectly obvious that the striking out of the words, "strictly medicinal and scientific" and the substitution in lieu thercof of the general word "legitimate" was intended to legitimatize and thereby continue to encourage the sale of large quantities of this drug without restrictions on its use, which is "legitimate" in the oriental possessions of many European countries, and thereby preserve the large revenues which the opium-producing countries derive from its production and sale.*

Mrs. Hamilton Wright, of the United States, one of the advisers and assessors of the opium advisory commission of the League of Nations, suggests the following in connection with the amendment:

If the eating of opium is legitimate, it must follow that its cultivation is legitimate. If it is legitimate for the Indian to consume opium, why not the Chinese? And, to go a step further, if it is a legitimate thing for the oriental, why not for the occidental? * * * If opium is a good thing, why are there any regulations at all? But if it is an evil thing real regulation means suppression or restriction of cultivation to its legitimate medicinal need.

This perfidious action of the assembly of the league in legitimatizing and encouraging for the sake of revenue the traffic in opium destroys all hope of relief from this international scourge through the League of Nations.

That our country has always pursued a program, without regard to revenue, designed to suppress the illicit traffic in habit-forming narcotic drugs, not only in continental United States but in other countries as well which have suffered from the ravages of these insidious agencies of human destruction, is fully evident in its sympathetic cooperation with the efforts of the Government of China in dealing with the opium problem in that country and in suppressing and prohibiting drug traffic in the Philippine Islands immediately upon its acquisition of that territory.

This conclusion is fully justified by the terms of the treaties with China of November 17, 1880, and October 18, 1903, the treaty of May 22, 1882, with Korea, and the treaty of July 29, 1868, with Japan, in all of which it was agreed that citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into these countries or buy or sell any opium therein. The strict enforcement of these treaties by the Government of the United States against its own citizens accounts, in part, for the high esteem and respect which the people of China and Korea have always held for the people of the United States.

It is a maxim of law that "he who goes into equity must do so with clean hands," and we should be proud to say that our Republic enters upon this extraordinary undertaking with clean hands in harmony with its traditional policy.

The President is not requested in this resolution to make representations to China for reasons which are perfectly plain to anyone familiar with the pathetic struggle of two centuries which that country has made to protect her people from the ravages of opium. The principle of limitation of production to medicinal and scientific purposes has long been advocated by China; therefore it is not necessary to ask China to agree to a principle which she has already approved.

The growth, cultivation, and production of the opium-producing poppy in India is controlled by the British Government in India by virtue of its sovereignty over that possession, and the Kingdom of Persia and the Empire of Turkey, in the exercise of their sovereignty, can place restrictions and limitations upon the growth and production of the poppy within and exportation from their respective countries.

Likewise, by reason of their sovereign powers, the Republics of Peru and Bolivia and the Netherlands, in the case of Java, can restrict and limit production within and exportation from their respective countries of cocaine and the raw product—coca leaves—from which cocaine is made.

It is true that the adoption of the principle stated in the resolution, namely, that the production of these habit-forming narcotic drugs only to the extent needed for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes will decrease by from 10 per cent to 20 per cent the revenues of Persia, Turkey, and India, but surely the agonizing cries of the millions of sufferers from addiction to these drugs during the last two centuries should have more weight than these revenues, and the moral forces of the world should place America's unselfish plea for humanity above the dollar, the incalculable benefits from which will inure to all the peoples of the world to exactly the same extent that they would inure to the people of the United States.

In summarizing, the hearings conclusively show:

1. That these habit-forming drugs are indispensable to proper medication of the people of the world.
2. That the enormous overproduction is being used for vicious purposes and causing irreparable injury to hundreds of thousands of people.
3. That by reason of the extremely limited area on which opium can be produced in paying quantities it is entirely practicable to control production thereof through the exercise of the sovereignty of the governments of the people which produce it.
4. That the amount needed for medicinal purposes is comparatively easy of ascertaining.
5. That all laws and treaties founded on the principle of controlling and restricting the use of these drugs to proper purposes by controlling the sale and transportation thereof have utterly failed, and in some instances may have tended to encourage their barter and sale.
6. That it is perfectly manifest the official action of the League of Nations referred to was clearly intended to encourage the traffic and thereby preserve the immoral revenues of the opium-producing countries instead of suppressing this international affliction.
7. That by reason of their extraordinary nature an extraordinary remedy must be applied, namely, the limitation of production to the amount needed for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes.

In these conditions it is the duty of the United States to take the leadership in a world-wide movement to eradicate the illicit international traffic so that the use of these drugs, which De Quincey spoke of as having the "Keys to paradise but which opens at last the doors of perdition," shall be strictly confined to the humane purposes for which nature intended them—the alleviation of human suffering.

Mr. CHALMERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. PORTER. Certainly.

Mr. CHALMERS. I just wanted to say that I am not opposed to this legislation but that I am in favor of it.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania to suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution, including the preamble.

The question was taken; and, in the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds having voted in favor thereof, the rules were suspended and the joint resolution was passed.



